

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 HA-05
ACDA-12 CU-04 TRSE-00 EB-08 OMB-01 COME-00 STR-05
DOTE-00 FMC-01 CG-00 DLOS-09 OES-07 IO-13 USIE-00
NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /113 W
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O R 222026Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3707
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USBERLIN
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USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR
USIA WASHDC

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FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- DAILY HIGHLIGHTS, NOVEMBER 22

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SUMMARY: ALL FIVE WORKING BODIES WERE IN SESSION, WITH CBMS
DOING BOTH MORNING AND AFTERNOON DUTY. THERE WERE NO SUR-
PRISES, AND DAY'S MAJOR ACTIVITY WAS IN NATO HEADS OF DEL
CAUCUS WHICH DISCUSSED CONCLUDING DOCUMENT QUESTIONS (DE-
TAILS SEPTEL). END SUMMARY.

1. BASKET ONE (CBMS) -- WORKING BODY HELD DOUBLE SESSION.

FOR FIRST TIME, NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) EXPRESSED, IN VARYING DEGREES, INTEREST IN SOVIET PROPOSAL TO LIMIT SIZE OF MANEUVERS. YUGOSLAV REP FOUND IT "GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE", SWEDE CAUTIOUSLY RECOGNIZED ITS "CONFIDENCE-BUILDING POTENTIAL". CYPRIOT EMBRACED CONCEPT WHILE SUGGESTING THAT 50,000-60,000 SHOULD BE STARTING POINT FROM WHICH TO TRY TO NEGOTIATE AN EVEN LOWER CEILING. EASTERN REPS ALL SUGGESTED THAT CEILING SHOULD PRESENT LITTLE PROACTICAL PROBLEM FOR PARTICIPATING STATES SINCE ONLY ONE MANEUVER NOTIFIED SINCE HELSINGKI HAD EXCEEDED 60,000. SOVIET IDEA OF EXTENDING CBMS TO SOUTHERN MEDITERRANEAN WAS GIVEN SHORT SHRIFT BY BOTH CYPRUS AND MALTA WHO NOTED THAT IT WAS QUESTION PROPERLY ADDRESSED TO NON-PARTICIPATING STATES; THAT THOSE STATES WERE NOT PRESENT TO ANSWER IT, MALTESE AMBASSADOR SAID, WAS DUE PRIMARILY TO SOVIET OPPOSITION. MALTESE AND CYPRIOT REPS BOTH SAID IDEA WWOULD BE OF REAL INTEREST ONLY OF IT MEANT FUNCTIONAL EXTENSION OF CBMS TO COVER NAVAL NOTIFICATIONS. SOVIET REP REMAINED EVASIVE ABOUT SPECIFIC NATURE OF PROPOSED "SPECIAL JOINT CONSULTATIONS" DESPITE DANISH AND TURKISH ENQUIRIES AND ROMANIAN SUGGESTION THAT IDEA WAS TANTAMOUNT TO POST-BELGRADE EXPERTS WORKING GROUP ON CBMS.

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2. WARSAW PACT STATES BEGAN TO ADDRESS NNA AND ALLIED PROPOSALS IN SOME DETAIL, EMPLOYING QUESTIONS TO SUGGEST THAT SPECIFIC ELEMENTS LACKED PRECISION AND CONSTITUTED AMENDMENTS TO FINAL ACT. THEY ALLOWED, HOWEVER, THAT UNSPECIFIED ELEMENTS OF NNA PROPOSAL "WERE INTERESTING". SWEDISH REP EXPRESSED PUZZLEMENT AT CONTRAST BETWEEN GIGANTIC STRIDES (NON-FIRST-USE, PACT LIMITATION) SOVIETS SEEMED READY TO TAKE OUTSIDE OF CSCE WITH THEIR OPPOSITION TO EVEN MODESTLY ENLARGED CBMS. US REP ANALYZED ROMANIAN PROPOSAL FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF NAVAL AND AIR MANEUVERS. HE RECOGNIZED CONFIDENCE-BUILDING INTENT, BUT NOTED THAT A SIMILAR MEASURE HAD BEEN CONSIDERED AND REJECTED IN GENEVA FOR REASONS THAT REMAINED VALID IN BELGRADE: EXTREMELY DIFFICULT AND PERHAPS INSOLVABLE PROBLEMS OF DEFINITION; INTERFERENCE WITH LEGITIMATE TRAINING ACTIVITY NECESSARY FOR DEFENSIVE PREPAREDNESS, UNACCEPTABLE LIMITATION OF FUNDAMENTAL LEGAL RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION ON HIGH SEAS. IN COMMENTATING ON NNA PROPOSALS, UK REP OBSERVED THAT AIR AND NAVAL MANEUVERS WERE MORE DIFFICULT TO DEFINE THAN THOSE ON LAND AND

THAT LATTER, IN ANY EVENT, WERE MORE LIKELY TO BE
DESTABILIZING. YUGOSLAV AND CYPRIOT REPS ACHNOWLEDGED
DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN DEALING WITH NAVAL AND AIR MAN-
EUVERS BUT ARGUED THAT PRECISELY FOR THAT REASON THEY RE-
QUIRED FURTHER STUDY.

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NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 /113 W
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O R 222026Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3708
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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3. US REP MADE DETAILED COMPARISON OF NNA AND ALLIED SPECIAL
PROPOSALS ON OBSERVERS, POINTING OUT THEIR COMPLEMENTARY
NATURE. CANADIAN REP SUPPORTED US AND UK OBSERVATIONS

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THAT NNA PROPOSAL CONCERNING GREATER OBSERVER ACCESS TO COMMAND STAFF ASIY#L AS FIELD UNITS MIGHT NOT BE FEASIBLE FOR REASONS OF BOTH SECURITY AND PRACTICABILITY. CANADIAN AMCPOTHER ALLIED REPS ASKED

SOVIET DELEGATE WHETHER TERM " ELEMENT CONSISTENTLY" IN SOVIET DOCUMENT WAS A PRESCRIPTION FOR MORE LIBERAL IMPLEMENTATION BY THOSE WHO HAD IMPLEMENTED RESTRICTCZELYHBR VICE VERSA. SOVIET SAID IT WAS SIMPLY REAFFIRMATION OF FINAL ACT.

4. BASKET TWO -- DISCUSSION WAS DOMINATED BY PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS ABOUT LISTING OF BASKET TWO NEW PROPOSALS BY CSCE SECRETARIAT FOR DELEGATES' USE. ONLY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE DISCUSSED WAS AUSTRIAN PROPOSAL ON INLAND WATERWAYS (BM/E/2). FRG AGAIN QUESTIONED WHETHER PROPOSAL GOES BEYOND SCOPE OF FINAL ACT WHICH REFERS ONLY TO "INLAND WATERWAYS WHICH ARE SUBJECT TO INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS". FRENCH REP QUESTIONED MEANING OF "SURRENDER OF TRANSIT RIGHTS" CALLED FOR IN PROPOSAL AS WELL AS EXTENT TO WHICH IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO COORDINATE WITH OTHER STATES WHEN BUILDING OR ALTERING WATERWAYS. IN REPLY, AUSTRIAN REP EMPHASIZED UTILITY OF VOLUNTARY BILATERAL AGREEMENTS AND CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN WATERWAYS AND TRANSITING STATES. HE NOTED THAT WORD "SURRENDER" WAS AN IMPRECISE TRANSLATION AND INDICATED WILLINGNESS TO MODIFY THIS LANGUAGE. HE MAINTAINED THAT HIGH LEVEL POLITICAL CONFERENCES LIKE THOSE FAVORED BY SOVIETS ARE NOT NECESSARY TO RESOLVE TECHNICAL TRANSPORT ISSUES AND THAT BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD GIVE IMPETUS FOR EXPERT EXAMINATION OF URGENT INLAND WATERWAY PROBLEMS THAT ECE MIGHT CONSIDER. CZECH REP SAID GAP BETWEEN IDENTIFICATION OF TRANSPORT PROBLEMS BY

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EXPERTS AND NEED TO ARRIVE AT "EFFECTIVE CONCLUSIONS" COULD BEST BE BRIDGED BY SOVIET PROPOSAL (BM/7).

5. MEDITERRANEAN -- PORTUGUESE, GREEK, SPANISH, ROMANIAN, AND MALTESE REPS ALL URGED ESTABLISHMENT OF SOME FORM OF POST-BELGRADE MEDITERRANEAN GROUP. ONLY GREEK REP DEFENDED PROPRIETY OF PURE MALTESE PROPOSAL THOUGH URGING WORKING BODY TO CONCENTRATE ON PRECISE AREAS WHERE POST-

BELGRADE COOPERATION WOULD BE MOST PROFITABLE. PORTUGUESE AND SPANISH REPS SUPPORTED EXPERTS GROUP WITH MEMBERSHIP OF ALL CSCE STATES AND CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES. ROMANIAN REP STRESSED NEED FOR WORKING BODY FIRST TO IDENTIFY MATTERS THAT SHOULD BE CARRIED OVER TO EXPERTS GROUP AND QUESTIONED PROPRIETY OF FULLY MEMBERSHIP FOR SOUTHERN LITTORAL STATES IN A CSCE BODY AS MALTESE HAVE PROPOSED. WITHOUT TAKING A POSITION ON A POST-BELGRADE GROUP, AUSTRIAN REP SAID HIS DEL WOULD WELCOME A LIST OF PROPOSALS ON REGIONAL COOPERATION AND FOLLOW-UP THAT MIGHT BE INCLUDED IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT.

6. BASKET THREE -- UNEVENTFUL, SLOW MOVING SESSION FOLLOLED UP YESTERDAY'S PRESENTATION OF FRENCH PROPOSAL ON MEETINGS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE (BM/H/11). USSR, GDR AND SWISS REPS QUESTIONED WISDOM OF "PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE COMPETENT GOVERNMENTAL ORGANS". SWISS ALSO SUGGESTED UNESCO INVOLVEMENT INCONSISTENT WITH FINAL ACT AND WOULD DUPLICATE WORK OF EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS. FIRST SENTENCE OF BULGARIAN PROPOSAL ON SPORT (CSCE/BM//44) DREW COMMENT FROM WESTERN DELEGATES WHO FELT THAT EVALUATION OF IMPLEMENTATION IS INAPPROPRIATE FOR INCLUSION IN HUMAN CONTACTS SECTION AND THAT POST-HELSINKI EXPERIENCE HAS NOT BEEN WHOLLY POSITIVE. SOVIET PROPOSAL (BM/H/13) ON PRO-

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MOTING MEETINGS OF PUBLIC IN DEFENSE OF PEACE, SECURITY AND FRIENDSHIP PROMPTED FRG REP TO SUGGEST IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE TO EXPAND PROPOSED TOPICS TO INCLUDE ALL BASKET THREE SUBJECTS, US REP SECONDED THIS. SOVIET REP STATED THAT WESTERN REACTION TO THIS PROPOSAL CLEARLY DELINEATED THOSE FOR WHOM CONCERNS OF EUROPEAN PEACE, SECURITY AND FRIENDSHIP WERE PRIMARY.

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O R 222026Z NOV 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3709
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
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7. FOLLOW-UP -- DISCUSSION OF MANDATE AND MODALITIES
OF EXPERTS GROUP CONTINUED WITH AUSTRIAN, SWISS,
ROMANIAN, SPANISH AND MALTESE REPS MINIMIZING DANGER
OF PROLIFERATION, WHILE MAINTAINING THAT PROLIFERATION
IN ITSELF WAS NOT NECESSARILY A NEGATIVE PHENOMENON.
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SWISS REP ENVISAGED TOTAL OF FIVE OR SIX EXPERTS GROUPS
RESULTING FROM BELGRADE, WHILE ROMANIAN REP INCREASED
TOTAL HE ENVISAGED LAST WEEK TO EIGHT. LATTER ALSO
EMPHASIZED THAT, AS MEANS OF "SHARING THE WEALTH",
NO COUNTRY SHOULD HOST MORE THAN ONE EXPERTS' GROUP,
SINCE, IN HIS VIEW, FOR SOME COUNTEIES SUCH MEETINGS
WOULD HAVE DEFINITE "POLITICAL INTEREST AND VALUE".
SWISS REP, NOTING THAT THE TWO EXPERTS GROUPS FORESEEN
IN FINAL ACT ARE NOW ENVISAGED FOR 1978, STRESSED THAT
ANY FURTHER EXPERTS GROUPS SHOULD BE SPACED OUT OVER
TIME, BEGINNING IN 1979. SPANISH REP SUPPORTED BY

IRISH AND MALTESE REPS SUGGESTED THAT OPTIMAL MEANS OF REPORTING RESULTS OF EXPERTS GROUPS TO NEXT BELGRADE-TYPE MEETING WOULD BE FOR REPRESENTATIVE OF COUNTRY HOSTING EACH GROUP TO UNDERTAKE TASK. SOVIET REP SAID MALTESE SUGGESTION TO DRAFT GUIDELINES FOR EXPERTS GROUP WAS PREMATURE.

8. QUESTION OF NEED FOR ANOTHER PREPARATORY MEETING AROSE FOR FIRST TIME. IRISH REP SAID THAT MOST DELS NOW SAW VALUE OF VERY SHORT PREPARATORY MEETING IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO NEXT FOLLOW-UP MEETING. SOVIET REP NOTED THAT "IN PRINCIPLE" HIS DEL WOULD BE IN FAVOR OF BRIEF PREPARATORY MEETING BUT STRESSED THAT THIS QUESTION NEEDED FURTHER STUDY.
GOLDBERG

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